

Message Text

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ACTION H-03

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P R 171715Z NOV 76

FM AMEMBASSY CAIRO

TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 8970

INFO AMCONSUL ALEXANDRIA

AMEMBASSY AMMAN

AMEMBASSY DAMASCUS

AMEMBASSY JIDDA

AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

AMEMBASSY TEL AVIV

USMISSION SINAI

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E.O. 11652: NA

TAGS: OREP (WOLFF, LESTER) PFOR EG US

SUBJ: CODEL WOLFF MEETING WITH SADAT

SUMMARY. CODEL WOLFF MET WITH PRESIDENT SADAT FOR OVER ONE HOUR NOVEMBER 17. SADAT REITERATED ARAB READINESS TO GO TO GENEVA WITHOUT PRECONDITIONS TO NEGOTIATE GLOBAL SOLUTION. HE SAID EGYPT WANTS TO NORMALIZE RELATIONS WITH USSR, AS WITH ALL COUNTRIES, BUT IT WILL NOT GO BEYOND THAT. PEACE PROCESS NEEDS TO BE PUSHED BY US. AFTER DELAYS CAUSED BY WATERGATE AND US ELECTIONS. IN RESPONSE TO CHAIRMAN WOLFF'S QUESTION ON HOW TO BREAK APPARENT DEADLOCK ON GENEVA, SADAT RECOMMENDED CARTER ADMINISTRATION, AFTER STUDYING PROBLEM, PUT FORWARD "AMERICAN PROPOSAL" AS "HENRY HAD DONE IN 1974 TO BRING ABOUT SIANI I AGREEMENT. THIS MESSAGE CLEARED BY CODEL. END SUMMARY.

1. CHAIRMAN WOLFF BEGAN DISCUSSION POINTING OUT THAT WHILE NARCOTICS WAS OF COURSE MAIN PRUPOSE OF VISIT BY NEW SELECT COMMITTEE, CODEL REPRESENTS MANY COMMITTEES AND WOULD BE MOST INTERESTED IN PRESIDENT'S VIEWS ON OUTLOOK FOR PEACE IN ME.

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2. PRESIDENT SADAT SAID THAT IN ALL FRANKNESS HE THOUGHT

THIS WAS MOST APPROPRIATE ERA FOR PEACE. RIYADH AND CAIRO SUMMITS HAD RESTORED ARAB SOLIDARITY AND ARABS ARE READY TO GO TO GENEVA. SECONDLY, EVENTS SINCE OCTOBER 1973, WHEN PEACE PROGRESS BEGAN WITH THE US, MAKE IT POSSIBLE EVEN THOUGH THERE WERE TWO DELAYS CAUSED BY WATERGATE AND US ELECTIONS. SITUATION HAS BECOME MORE SENSITIVE AS A RESULT OF THESE DELAYS, BUT "WE ARE READY IN 1977 TO PREPARE GLOBAL SOLUTION FOR PEACE."

3. CHAIRMAN WOLFF ASKED IF SADAT HAD ANY PRECONDITIONS AND PRESIDENT REPLIED THAT PRIME MINISTER RABIN HAD SENT MESSAGE WITH OTHER CODELS THAT HE HAD NO PRECONDITIONS. EGYPT HAS NONE. HOWEVER, ISRAEL DOES IN SENSE THAT ISRAELI OCCUPATION OF ARAB LAND IS A MAJOR PRECONDITION. IN SPITE OF THAT, EGYPT IS READY TO GO TO GENEVA.

4. CHAIRMAN WOLFF ASKED ABOUT RECENT REPORTS OF EGYPTIAN MOVES TOWARD USSR. PRESIDENT SAID THAT ONE MUST GO BACK TO BEGINNING. SINCE HE EXPELLED SOVIET EXPERTS IN JULY 1972 RELATIONS HAVE BEEN "VERY HIGHLY STRAINED WITH USSR." THEN SINCE PRESIDENT RECEIVED SECRETARY KISSINGER IN NOV 1973 SOVIETS HAD BOYCOTTED HIM. THEY HAVE PROVIDED NO ARMS AND NO SPARE PARTS WHILE SYRIA AND ISRAEL HAVE RECEIVED EVERYTHING THEY WANTED FROM RUSSIA AND U.S. PRESIDENT SAID THAT THE "BALANCE OF PEACE OR WAR IS WITH EGYPT." HE IS, HOWEVER, IN A VERY DIFFICULT POSITION. EVEN WHEN HE ASKED INDIA FOR SOVIET-LICENSED ARMS, SOVIETS HAD PREVENTED INDIA FROM PROVIDING THEM. AS RESULT HE HAD EARLIER THIS YEAR ENDED TREATY WITH USSR AND TERMINATED THEIR USE OF ALL FACILITIES IN EGYPT. RECENTLY, PRESIDENT SAID, SOVIETS HAD AGREED THAT FORMER MEET AT SOFIA BUT NOTHING NEW HAPPENED. IT NEEDS MORE TIME. "I DON'T WANT STRAINED RELATIONS WITH ANYONE BUT EVERYONE MUST RESPECT OUR INDEPENDENCE AND FREE WILL." U.S. DID SO AND SADAT EXPRESSED GRATITUDE FOR US ASSISTANCE. HE SAID US TREATS HIM ON EQUAL BASIS AND HE HOPED THAT NEW ADMINISTRATION WOULD CONTINUE JOINT ENDEAVORS BECAUSE THE PEACE PROCESS THAT BEGAN IN OCT 1973 NEEDS TO BE PUSHED.

5. CHAIRMAN WOLFF ASKED IF SECRETARY KISSINGER, WHO HAS CONFIDENCE OF BOTH PARTIES, WAS REPLACEABLE? SADAT SAID HE HAD BEEN DEEPLY TOUCHED BY HIS VISIT TO THE US AND HE FELT HE HAD ASSETS WITH THE AMERICAN PEOPLE. HE WAS CONFIDENT THAT MR. CARTER WOULD KNOW THE MECHANICS AND DIMENSIONS OF THE ARAB-UNCLASSIFIED

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ISRAELI CONFLICT AND ITS LONG HERITAGE. "HENRY" HAD SUCCEEDED WHERE OTHERS HAD FAILED BECAUSE HE HAD CHOSEN PROPER COURSE AFTER STUDYING SITUATION. PRESIDENT SAID "WE DON'T WANT YOU TO BE ON OUR SIDE AGAINST ISRAEL, ONLY TO BE OBJECTIVE AND HAVE ALL THE FACTS BEFORE YOU."

6. CHAIRMAN WOLFF ASKED IF EGYPT AGREED TO THE EXISTENCE OF THE STATE OF ISRAEL? SADAT REPLIED THAT WHEN EGYPT AGREED TO A CEASE-

FIRE, IT HAD AGREED TO ISRAEL AND WHEN HE SAYS HE IS PREPARED TO GO TO GENEVA THAT MEANS HE ACCEPTS ISRAEL. CHAIRMAN ASKED WHETHER OTHER PARTIES AT GENEVA TOOK SAME POSITION. PRESIDENT SAID THIS WAS NO PROBLEM FOR THE ARABS. THEY ALL ACCEPT ISRAEL. THE PROBLEM IS THAT ISRAEL REFUSES TO ACCEPT PALESTINIANS. CHAIRMAN SAID THAT THE PALESTINIANS HAVE NOT YET RECOGNIZED THE EXISTENCE OF ISRAEL. PRESIDENT ASKED IF IT WAS LOGICAL TO ASK PALESTINIANS, WHO HAVE LOST EVERYTHING, TO RECOGNIZE ISRAEL BEFORE NEGOTIATIONS. ISRAEL HAS EVERYTHING AND THE PALESTINIANS HAVE NOTHING, NOT EVEN THEIR HUMAN RIGHTS. GIVE THEM A STATE OF THE WEST BANK AND GAZA BEFORE ASKING THEM TO RECOGNIZE ISRAEL.

7. REP SCHEUR SAID THAT THE PALESTINIANS IN ISRAEL HAVE THEIR OWN SCHOOLS, LOCALLY ADMINISTERED COURTS, AND ENJOY OTHER HUMAN RIGHTS THAT ARE MORE EXTENSIVE THAN MOST ARABS APPEAR TO ENJOY EXCEPT IN EGYPT. PRESIDENT DISAGREED SAYING THAT UNSC VOTE JUST A FEW DAYS AGO HAD CONDEMNED ISRAEL FOR ITS TREATMENT OF PALESTINIANS IN OCCUPIED TERRITORIES AND US HAD VOTED FOR THAT RESOLUTION. HE ASKED WHO HAD TOLD CODEL ABOUT PALESTINIAN RIGHTS IN ISRAEL AND OPINED THAT IT WAS ISRAELI PROPAGANDA. HE ASKED WHAT ABOUT ALL OF PALESTINIANS SCATTERED IN REFUGEE CAMPS. REP SCHEURER SAID THAT IT WAS THE ARABS WHO HAD KEPT THE PALESTINIANS IN THE CAMPS. WHY NOT GIVE THEM LAND IN THE ARAB COUNTRIES? SADAT SAID THAT IF THIS QUESTION IS POSED WHY SHOULD NOT ISRAEL BE THE ONE TO GIVE THE PALESTINIANS BACK THEIR LAND INSTEAD OF ARAB STATES GIVING UP LAND.

8. RE SCHEURER SAID THAT THE JEWS WHO HAD LEFT GERMANY AFTER WWII HAD SETTLED IN MANY COUNTRIES. THEY HAD NOT BEEN LOCKED IN REFUGEE CAMPS. HE ASKED IF PALESTINIANS WERE FREE TO LEAVE THEIR CAMPS? PRESIDENT SADAT RESPONDED THAT THEY WERE. THEY TRAVEL FREELY ANYWHERE IN EGYPT AND THROUGHOUT THE ARAB WORLD. HE ASKED WHO HAD SAID THEY WERE IN PRISONS AND SAID IT MUST BE UNCLASSIFIED

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ISRAELI PROPAGANDA. PALESTINIANS ARE FREE TO GO WHEREVER THEY WANT.

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AMEMBASSY JIDDA
AMEMBASSY MOSCOW
AMEMBASSY TEL AVIV
USMISSION SINAI

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9. REP RINALDO SAID HE WAS VERY CONCERNED WITH POSSIBILITY OF 15-20 PERCENT PRICE INCREASE IN OIL AT DECEMBER 15 OPEC MEETING AND EFFECT THIS WOULD HAVE ON WORLD INFLATION, RETARDING ECONOMIC RECOVERY, AND HURTING ALL COUNTRIES. HE ASKED IF THE PRESIDENT INTENDED TO EXERT ANY INFLUENCE TO PREVENT A PRICE RISE? SADAT SAID HE HAD DISCUSSED THIS PROBLEM WITH FRENCH PRIME MINISTER BARRE TWO DAYS AGO. EGYPT IS ONLY A SMALL EXPORTER OF FOUR MILLION TONS AND IT WILL BE HURT LIKE OTHER COUNTRIES. BUT WHAT COULD IT DO? PRESIDENT SAID HE KNEW SAUDI ARABIA IS AGAINST A PRICE RISE BUT ALL THE OTHER OPEC MEMBERS ARE FOR IT, ESPECIALLY VENEZUELA. HE SAID HE HAD ALREADY DONE HIS BEST BUT HE IS NOT AN OPEC MEMBER. HE DID NOT EXPECT PRICE INCREASE TO BE HIGHER THAN 15 PERCENT.

10. REP HECKLER SAID SHE TOO IS CONCERNED ABOUT OIL PRICE RISE AND UNDERSTOOD THAT PRESIDENT HAD BEEN INSTRUMENTAL IN ENDING THE OIL EMBARGO IN 1974. WHAT TACTICS COULD HE SUGGEST THAT MIGHT BE USED TO KEEP PRICES DOWN NOW? SADAT SAID THREE YEARS AGO HE HAD RECOMMENDED NEGOTIATIONS BETWEEN OPEC STATES AND USERS AND FRANCE HAD GOTTEN THIS PROJECT MOVING. IF WE CAN ALL SIT TOGETHER AND DISCUSS REDUCTION IN PRICES IN SOME GOODS IN EXCHANGE FOR NO INCREASE IN THE OIL PRICES MAYBE SOLUTION COULD BE FOUND. PRICES UNCLASSIFIED

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OF EVERYTHING ARE GOING SKY HIGH AND AS PRESIDENT-ELECT CARTER HAS SAID "WE NEED A NEW WORLD ORDER INSTEAD OF POWER POLITICS." PRESIDENT SAID WHEAT PRICES INCREASED FOUR FOLD VERY QUICKLY AND COUNTRIES LIKE EGYPT WERE VERY HARD HIT. CHAIRMAN WOLFF COMMENTED THAT SOVIETS WERE RESPONSIBLE FOR MUCH OF RISE IN WHEAT PRICES BECAUSE OF THEIR LARGE PURCHASES.

11. REP SCHEUER SAID HE ADMIRERD MRS. SADAT'S LEADERSHIP IN FAMILY PLANNING. HE SAID US HAD \$150 MILLION IN EXCESS CURRENCY IN EGYPT AND HE WONDERED IF SOME OF IT MIGHT BE USED FOR A RURAL HEALTH PROGRAM WITH FAMILY PLANNING BUILT IN. WAS THAT OF INTEREST TO THE PRESIDENT? PRESIDENT SAID YES IT WAS AND THAT EGYPT WAS GRATEFUL FOR ALL THE HELP THE US CAN PROVIDE.

12. REP LEHMAN SAID HE WAS INTERESTED IN PRESIDENT'S COMMENTS THAT "THIS IS MOST APPROPRIATE TIME FOR PEACE" AND THAT "BALANCE OF PEACE AND WAR DEPENDS ON EGYPT." HE THOUGHT THERE WAS A SENSE OF URGENCY AND HE ASKED WHAT COULD US DO TO HELP PRESIDENT MOVE TOWARD PEACE? PRESIDENT SAID SOVIETS ARE MAD WHEN THEY HEAR HIM SAY THAT US IS MAIN FACTOR FOR PEACE IN THE ME. WHY DOES HE SAY THIS? BECAUSE ARAB-ISRAELI PROBLEM HAS MANY DIMENSIONS. ONE OF MOST IMPORTANT IS PSYCHOLOGICAL. NOW FOR FIRST TIME IN 28 YEARS BOTH SIDES HAVE FOUND SOMEONE IN WHOM THEY HAVE CONFIDENCE. FURTHERMORE, ISRAELIS CANNOT REFUSE THE US BECAUSE IT PROVIDES THEM WITH EVERYTHING FOR THEIR SECURITY. ALSO ARAB-ISRAELI CONFLICT IS MOST DANGEROUS PROBLEM IN WORLD BECAUSE OF STRATEGIC POSITION OF THE COUNTRIES AND GREAT POWER RIVALRY. PRESIDENT BELIEVES IT SHOULD BE NUMBER ONE PRIORITY FOR US. EGYPT IS, HOWEVER, NOT GOING TO HARASS PRESIDENT CARTER. US AND EGYPT HAVE MADE AN EFFECTIVE BEGINNING FOR PEACE PROCESS WHICH WILL TAKE US TO GENEVA TO SIGN PEACE AGREEMENT, END STATE OF BELLIGERENCY, ARRANGE WITHDRAWAL OF OCCUPIED LANDS AND CREATE A PALESTINIAN STATE ON THE WEST BANK OF GAZA. THEN PERMANENT PEACE WILL PREVAIL. WITHOUT THE US NOTHING IS POSSIBLE. WITH THE US WE CAN DO IT. WE HAVE ALREADY ACHIEVED SINAI I AND II.

13. CHAIRMAN WOLFF ASKED IF THERE COULD BE BILATERAL AGREEMENT? PRESIDENT SAID IT CAN NOT BE ON A BILATERAL BASIS. LEBANON, SYRIA, JORDAN AND PALESTINIANS MUST ALL SIT TOGETHER WITH EGYPT AND ISRAEL AND GIVE THEIR FULL VIEWS.

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14. REP RANDALL REFERRED TO HIS EARLIER MEETING WITH PRESIDENT IN AUGUST 1975 WITH PLEASURE AND SAID THAT AS MEMBER OF ARMED SERVICES COMMITTEE HE WOULD LIKE TO KNOW WHAT PRESIDENT'S REQUEST FOR ARMS WILL BE FROM US? SADAT RESPONDED THAT HE SHALL BE RAISING HELL WITH THE CONGRESS. HE WILL BE COMING TO AMERICANS AND SAYING "AM I FREIND OR NOT?" PRESIDENT SAID HE WANTED DEFENSIVE ARMS, NOT OFFENSIVE ARMS. HE WOULD USE HIS ASSETS WITH THE AMERICAN EPOPLE ON THIS AND GIVE HELL TO THE CONGRESS "IF IT COMES TO THAT." PRESIDENT SAID HE WILL BE FREQUESTING F5E'S AND TOW MISSILES. HE WILL NOT BE ASKING FOR SOPHISTICATED ARMS SUCH AS ISRAEL RECEIVES, ONLY DEFENSIVE ARMS TO DEFEND HIS COUNTRY.

15. DEA ADMINISTRATOR BENSINGER EXPRESSED HIS APPRECIATION FOR

PRESIDENT'S HOSPITALITY AND SAID HIS PRIMARY INTEREST WAS NARCOTICS. PRESIDENT ASKED HIM TO CONVINCE ISRAELIS NOT TO SEND NARCOTICS INTO EGYPT. HE SAID HE HAD ALREADY TAKEN MEASURES TO CLOSE MEDITERRANEAN COAST TO DRUG SMUGGLING. EGYPT STILL ARRESTS SOME BRINING NARCOTICS FROM ISRAEL THROUGH THE SINAI.

16. CHAIRMAN WOLFF SAID IN IS OPINION WE ARE ON DEAD CENTER ON PEACE NEGOTIATIONS AND COMPROMISE MAY BE REQUIRED ON BOTH SIDES. PERHAPS A PRELIMINARY MEETING OF THE PARTICPANTS IN THE WAR TO EASE THE WAY INTO GENEVA. SADAT SAID THAT THIS HAD BEEN SUGGESTED BY "HENRY" BUT IT IS NOT PRACTICAL. EGYPT WANTS EVERYONE TO BE AT GENEVA TO GIVE THEIR FULL VIEWS IN FROT OF THE TWO SPONSORING SUPERPOWERS. THIS IS THE WAY TO REACH FULL SETTLEMENT.

17. CHAIRMAN WOLFF SAID THAT IF BOTH SIDES STAND ON PRINCIPLE IT WOULD BE DIFFICULT TO MOVE AHEAD. SADAT HAD SHOWN GREAT LEADERSHIP AND CONGRESS LOOKS FORWARD TO WORKING WITH HIM AS A PARTNER. THERE MUST BE SOME WAY TO GET OFF DEAD CENTER? PRESIDENT SAID THAT AT ASWAN IN 1974 WHEN HE WAS NEGOTIATING WITH "THE OLD LADY", GOLDA MEIR, AND "HENRY" WAS SHUTTTLING BACK AND FORTH THEY HAD COME TO A DEADLOCK." "HENRY" HAD ASKED PRESIDENT FOR HIS OPINION OF HOW TO BREAK DEADLOCK AND SADAT SAID IT WAS TIME FOR US TO MAKE "AN AMERICAN PROPOSAL." "HENRY" HAD DONE SO AND THIS WAS WHAT HAD LED TO THE FIRST DISENGAGEMENT AGREEMENT. LET PRESIDENT-ELECT CARTER, AFTER STUDYING THE QUESTION IN ALL ITS MECHANICS AND COMPLEXITY WHICH ARE WELL KNOWN TO UNCLASSIFIED

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THE AMERICANS, COME FORWARD WITH AN "AMERICAN PROPOSAL". "I WILL TELL YOU VERY FRANKLY WHAT I CAN ACCEPT AND NOT ACCEPT." SO WILL THE ISRAELIS. BOTH SIDES HAVE CONFIDENCE IN THE US.

18. REP SCHEUER SAID THAT IN CLOSING HE WANTED TO MAKE ONE FINAL COMMENT. CODEL RESPECTS PRESIDENT'S ASSERTION THAT EGYPT IS SOVEREIGN, INDEPENDENT STATE AND MUST BE FREE TO ACT INDEPENDENTLY. SAME IS TRUE OF ISRAEL AND IT IS NOT TRUE THAT BECAUSE US PROVIDES GUNS AND BUTTER TO YOU OR TO ISRAELIS THAT US CAN TELL THEM WHAT TO DO. NEVERTHELESS US CAN AND SHOULD PLAY A CONSTRUCTIVE ROLE.

19. REP HECKLER SAID THAT HIS WAS A VERY IMPORTANT MOMENT AND THERE IS GREAT HOPE FOR PEACE. AT SAME TIME THERE IS CONCERN ABOUT POSSIBLE RAPPROACHMENT BETWEEN EGYPT AND USSR AND THIS COULD BRING NEW ELEMENT INTO SITUATION AND MUDDY UP THE WATERS. PRESIDENT SADAT SAID THAT THERE SHOULD BE NO CONCERN ON THIS SCORE. HE RECALLED HIS EXPLUSION OF SOVIET EXPERTS IN JULY 1972 AND TERMINATION IN 1976 OF THE TREATY RELATIONSHIP AND THE SOVIET USE OF ALL FACILITIES IN EGYPT. WHAT EGYPT IS TRYING TO DO HE SAID WAS NORMALIZE RELATIONS. IT DOES NOT WANT

TENSION WITH ANY COUNTRY, BUT NORMALIZATION IS THE MAXIMUM
THAT EGYPT CAN DO WITH USSR. MOST IMPORTANTLY, THE PEACE PROCESS
MUST CONTINUE.

20. THIS MESSAGE HAS BEEN CLEARED BY CODEL WOLFF.
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